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THE BETRAYAL OF VALUES

By Felix Morley

Deterioration of Russian-American relations has now reached the stage where people, in this country at least, are beginning to talk openly of the "inevitability" of war. That being the case, it becomes rational -- and very possibly helpful -- to consider some other developments which will also be "inevitable," if such a war should come.

One probable result, to which singularly little consideration is given, is that the United States would lose a war with Russia. That statement demands immediate qualification. Military defeat, so long as we possess the atomic bomb and our potential enemies do not, would be very unlikely. But apparent military victory may coincide with and produce a devastating moral and spiritual setback, and has often done so. It remains questionable whether, in any deeper sense of the verb, we have "won" the recent war.

The challenge of Communism to American institutions cannot be met, as some are prone to think, by World War III. In conquering the Axis all the Allied Powers, in varying degree, succumbed to the totalitarian philosophy of their enemies. Moral defeat was least in the case of Russia, because both the form and spirit of Communist rule were already tyrannical. But even Russia has become more Nazi in the process of fighting Nazism. Only last week the Moscow paper Red Sport emphasized that all athletic performances in Russia are "for the glory of the State." This invites comparison with the famous aphorism attributed to Dr. Robert Ley, the Nazi Minister of Labor: "Truth is whatever benefits the State; error is whatever does not benefit the State."

In this country the moral defeat of the last war has been greater because under the centralizing pressure of hostilities we have strayed farther than any other from established political tradition, and have most seriously distorted our own political institutions. National Socialist agencies like OPA are not being eliminated and Black Market consequences, here as in Hitler's Germany, call continuously for further and further extension of centralized police power. Indeed, the American

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people have already become so conditioned to National Socialism that many are even unable to detect its symptoms here, while others are too apathetic to uproot the luxuriant parasitic growth.

II

Another total war, fought to the death against the strongest totalitarian power in history, would all too probably lead to the final strangulation and dissolution of the American system of free enterprise.

Such a war would immediately require the perpetuation of every governmental control established from 1940 to 1945, and the imposition of many new ones. It would fetter conscription -- not yet discarded -- permanently on our youth. It would substitute the indoctrination of State-controlled institutions for the educational work of Church-connected colleges. Can any intelligent person doubt that another Office of War Information would fail, in six months of unbridled propaganda, to convince most Americans that even Nazi storm troopers were not so bad, by contrast with fiendish, filthy Bolsheviks?

Another war, now glibly discussed, would make absolute the regimentation of management and would inevitably balance that by eliminating the right to strike and other hard-won privileges of freely-organized labor. Administrative law, already dangerously developed, could with little change become government by outright decree. The Federal structure, so gravely weakened by the New Deal, would in fact if not in name be supplanted by strongly centralized authority in every field of social activity. The one-party system, now advocated in effect by many who are not consciously fellow travellers, might take permanent root. The United States could easily become a single authoritarian, totalitarian State.

Moreover, all this would be the probable outcome of a war with Russia, even though our sons -- "theirs not to reason why" -- might readily lay every Russian city waste with atomic bombs, leaving them all, from Leningrad to Vladivostok, still more desolate and broken than are those of Germany today. We would not, of course, admit that we had become totalitarian. Our single dictatorial party would continue to call itself Democratic or something equally agreeable -- "Liberal," perhaps -- and people might well be allowed to cast a periodic vote for it. Our all-powerful executive would still be known as "President." There would be Secretaries, not Commissars, as heads of departments, including all the new "welfare" agencies. And John Q. Public could still, if he wanted, consider himself a citizen.

But the continuity of names would mean nothing, except as a melan-

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choly reminder of a noble past. We would have kept the shadow and lost the substance. "It can happen here" and it is not for a minute fantastic to assert that it would happen here should we resort to the arbitrament of arms with Russia. Indeed, it has already happened here to a degree which will require tremendous and concerted effort if we are to restore the essential characteristics of the American tradition.

III

None of this forecast, as to the validity of which every reader may judge in the light of his own observation and experience, is to be taken as an indorsement of the ill-judged policy of appeasement. Since its first issue, on February 2, 1944, HUMAN EVENTS has on numerous occasions objectively discussed the facts, the techniques and the purposes of Soviet expansion, and a review of our articles, in the light of the present, seems to reveal no sentence for which an apology is in order.

What is said now is not retraction but warning. The dam of self-deception and ignorant wishful thinking in regard to Russian policy is broken and the surging torrent of disillusionment and bitterness is obviously running in the direction of hostilities. If our diplomacy under Roosevelt had been less cocksure, its problems under Truman would be less appalling.

Too many eggs are now broken to reassemble them neatly in a basket garnished with floral decorations like the Atlantic Charter or the Four Freedoms. As the eggs are broken, so are those flowers withered. But there can, and must, be somber re-examination of all phases of Russian-American relations; something in the nature of a careful inventory of the issues dividing the two recent Allies. And such an inventory will disclose much that should lead to soul-searching by Americans.

The inventory, in the first place, will disclose that the Soviet Government, as distinct from Communists and fellow travellers in this country, has been generally honest and forthright in regard to its intentions. In many ways Stalin has told us that Russia intends to dominate Europe; to take over and resuscitate Germany as a Communist satellite; to foment revolution in Spain; to end the independence of Turkey; to oust Anglo-American interests from the Near East (including Palestine) and to bring Northern China, Manchuria, Korea and if possible Japan into the Soviet bloc. If Americans have failed to visualize this program, and the eventual aim of a Communist world-state, it is certainly not because Russian leadership has been secretive on the subject.

The second point in the inventory will be the ample evidence that

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Russia joined the United Nations not to bolster any "bourgeois" peace but simply to insure that this Anglo-American instrumentality should not be used to Russian disadvantage. If Mr. Gromyko has not yet been able to make that plain to the editorial writers, he may be counted upon soon to make still another effort.

A third item of the inventory is the patient Russian endeavor to bring home to Secretary Byrnes that Russia simply will not tolerate the sort of peace our State Department seeks, and vastly prefers no peace at all to the Anglo-American program, if any. The profit which accrues to Communism from the failure to write a peace should have been theoretically apparent even before the end of the war. But Molotov and Vishinsky are evidently willing to spend time in the education of their colleagues at Paris.

IV

The inventory, when complete, will not stop with Russian objectives. It will also contain quite a few items on the actions of a nation which, since 1933, has given much lip service and far less real service to peace.

The eventual inventory will have to envisage the question whether the nation which first used, and still controls, the atomic bomb can properly be regarded as a safe custodian of world morals. It must show what plan, alternative to the Russian, we have for Germany. It must attempt to clarify our policy with regard to China, Argentina, Spain, Italy, and determine whether any consistent purpose lies behind the whole. We owe that definition to Russia, not to mention our own people.

In its issue of July 27, the London Economist asserted that:

> "Having abandoned principle for what they thought was policy, the Western Powers are now left with neither principle nor policy, and at Paris they will begin to reap the Dead Sea fruit."

During the past five weeks the accuracy of that statement has been daily confirmed. And the measure of our bankruptcy, in principle and policy, is the rapid drift toward another, atomic, war.

Nor is this fatal tendency one which can be quickly and easily reversed. We shall not get principle into our international actions until we have re-established it in our national life. The Economist properly reminds us that: "We have no right to denounce Communists for betrayal of values which have never been theirs." The real betrayal has been of our own values, and it has come like a thief in the night.

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Not Merely Gossip *A Supplement to* Human Events VOL. III, NO. 36

By Frank C. Hanighen September 4, 1946

The first motifs of a new American line on the subject of Germany began last week to run through dispatches from Berlin and "think stories" from Washington. These articles said that "who controls Germany controls Europe," that therefore the United States is commencing a new policy to deny domination of Germany to Soviet Russia, and that in the process the last vestiges of Morgenthau-ism must disappear. It is believed that these stories have been inspired on the European end by Byrnes, Clay and Murphy; and on the American end, by the State Department.

This evidence of realization, however belated, of the elementary facts of European economics and politics deserves commendation. It is, of course, no news to readers of HUMAN EVENTS. As early as November, 1944, this publication undertook to sketch the grave effects which would follow the economic and political partition of Germany. But, assuming that the present conversion of the Government is lasting, it may take longer to implement the policy than is generally suspected. We list the following obstacles which have worked perhaps irreparable damage already, and which remain in the path of any new, constructive policy:

(1) Fear of American public opinion -- or possibly of "New York public opinion": One of General Clay's observers recently remarked to a friend: "Whenever the Russians take some step in Germany, they ask themselves, 'How will the Germans react?' Before Americans act, they wonder, 'What will PM say about this?'" In short, American policy in Germany has been keyed to what the most racist and vengeful wing of American opinion demands. GHQ in Germany has recently taken a few timid steps not to the taste of Mr. Ralph Ingersoll. But observers of the German scene do not expect that GHQ will progress far with a new untrammelled policy, at least until after the New York vote is counted in November.

(2) Slowness of the bureaucratic apparatus: Far too many Government agencies try to make policy for Germany; they overlap and conflict, with resultant confusion.

(3) Too many commitments: American policy is entangled in past promises made at Yalta, Potsdam, etc. The denazification policy, the "level of industry" agreement, etc. hamstring constructive work.

(4) Sabotage: The Occupation and policy makers here still include many individuals who stick to the Morgenthau doctrine of "turn all Germany back to pasture." Informed observers believe that these individuals deliberately retard efforts to get the German economic machinery working. They will continue to do so, until removed.

(5) The demoralization of our occupation forces: Black-marketeering, reckless requisitioning of German property, general misconduct -- all these have served to alienate German respect and friendship in our zone, and have led ignorant Germans to believe the Russians run their zone better.

Enlightenment has appeared and it may be that a new leaf has been turned. But many months may pass before fresh directives can overcome the above impediments. The dead hand of the old policy lies heavily on GHQ in Germany.

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Russian influence on the policy of the CIO-PAC is seen even in highly conservative Vermont, where the recent primaries revealed a curious situation. The CIO-PAC organization has but negligible strength in this solidly Republican state and candidates do not court its support. The Left Wing organization, however, tried to play politics between the two factions of the Republican Party. It had been expected that CIO-PAC would throw what votes it had to the less conservative

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of the two candidates for Senator; in this case Mr. Sterry R. Waterman. But Vermont politicos were surprised when the Leftists came out for Mr. Waterman's strongly conservative opponent, Mr. Ralph Flanders, who in the past fought union organization of the factory of which he is President.

The key to this mystery, according to those who know both Vermont politics and CIO-PAC maneuvers, lies in the fact that Mr. Flanders owns one of the most important machine-tool plants in the country. He has sold machine-tools to Russia in former years and, like others in his line of business, presumably looks forward to a thriving business with that market in the future. Russia, for its part, wants machine-tools more than any other item of import. Mr. Flanders probably has no ulterior motives. But, it would be natural for Russia to seek to enter into a mutually advantageous relationship with this machine-tool manufacturer, via the CIO-PAC. Mr. Flanders in the United States Senate, according to Moscow hopes, might prove a strong supporter of a loan to Russia for purchases of American products, of which machine-tools would lead the list.

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The State Department has pressed its policy of "Get the Japs out of China" so vigorously and thoroughly that, paradoxically, the Chinese may one day have to bring the Japanese back to bolster the Chinese economy. An American engineer just returned from China throws some light on this extraordinary situation by the following sarcastic remark: "If all competent Chinese technicians were brought together in one province, they could run efficiently just about six factories, three public utility plants and one short line railroad." This, of course, is an exaggeration. But it is true that the forced exodus of Japanese engineers has had disastrous effects on Chinese industry.

Observers report acres of Japanese-built plants in the Tientsin-Peiping area lying idle and rusting because Japanese technicians have been deported. They also claim that the magnificent economy of Formosa is in a state of collapse, largely for the same reason. The Chinese authorities deplore this state of affairs. They say that they cannot run the mines, factories and camphor plantations of Formosa without the Japanese. Western technicians come too high -- about $400 a month; Japanese will take $30 a month. Without Japanese know-how, say Chinese, China really cannot run its economic machine, not to mention engage in a large-scale program of industrialization. The Chinese authorities blame the State Department, which forced this policy over the protests of the Chinese Government.

The Chinese masses, suffering from a wild inflation, would welcome an influx of Japanese goods. MacArthur seems likely to get a considerable portion of Japanese industry running in the next few months. If and when that happens, Japanese consumer goods will begin to flood the Chinese market. And such are the wondrous results of our Far Eastern policy that Chinese industrialists, in an effort to compete with Jap goods, may then have to send agents to Japan to recruit the Japanese technicians whom Americans expelled from China.

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These are difficult days for the CIO. Membership reached a high, but unhealthy level during the war and is now undergoing painful deflation. Lots of money has been spent, especially among auto workers, to stop this downward slide. United Auto Workers Union admits that it is running a deficit of $200,000 a month. CIO unions are in a poor position to weather a financial crisis, for treasuries have been depleted by last winter's strikes and chronic failure to pay dues. Recently the CIO had to dismiss several score of organizers for economy reasons.

Internal union strife has mounted. Anti-Communist elements have carried the fight against Reds into maritime, steel, auto, mine, smelter, oil and engineering fields. President Phil Murray managed to avoid a showdown on the Communist contro-

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versy in the Steel Workers Convention last spring. He may not be able to prevent a free-for-all on this subject at the coming CIO Convention in October.

In contrast, the AFL is doing nicely. With faithful, dues-paying members and few strikes in the past year, the treasurer had little worry save how to invest the cash. Much money has been spent on the AFL organizing campaign in the South. It is a measure of success that the AFL recently announced a gain of 88,000 members from this drive, while the CIO maintained silence on its concurrent drive in that section. Significantly, the AFL won union recognition over the CIO in the Tennessee atom bomb plant election.

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Although Russia's opposition to the admission of Catholic Eire into the UN was not entirely unexpected, it aroused some acid comment in official circles in Dublin. It was recalled that De Valera worked for the entrance of Russia into the League of Nations, voted for admission and made a welcoming speech to Litvinov when the latter took his seat in Geneva. Grudges, instead of gratitude, prompted Soviet policy, say the Irish.

One source of this Moscow rancor is suggested. In 1940, Eire bought several Latvian ships which had berthed in Dublin when Russia seized the Baltic States. The Russian envoy in London (Eire has no diplomatic relations with Russia) protested, claimed ownership of the vessels and proposed sending a delegation to the Irish capital. Eire officials assented to the visit on the condition that the Russians should not contact the Latvian crews. Russia agreed. But, as soon as the Russian delegates arrived in Dublin, they went immediately to the docks and proceeded to harangue the crews. At that point, the Dublin police intervened and unceremoniously hustled the Muscovites to the next boat for England. Eire kept the ships.

A recent scene in the Eire Parliament, however, probably clinched the Russian decision to block Eire's entrance into UN. One argument was conspicuous during the debate on this subject. All speakers, both Government and Opposition, seemed to support Eire's application on the ground that Eire's vote in the UN Assembly would be consistently adverse to Russian policy.

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In response to requests from readers for fuller details concerning the "Notes and Quotes" item (July 24), about an Allied "massacre of defenseless non-combatants" in Dresden, we are presenting the following account of the incident. The beautiful German city of Dresden was almost entirely destroyed in two large raids by the U. S. Army Air Forces on February 13 and 14, 1945. According to the New York Times (January 3, 1946), the death toll of German civilians was about 300,000; but more reliable estimates place it as between 110,000 and 120,000. Army sources say that the raids served no military purpose; there was no important industry in Dresden, and it was neither a strategic nor tactical objective. The responsibility lies, according to some versions, with the air commanders; according to others, with Mr. Roosevelt, who at Yalta reportedly decided to bomb Dresden as a demonstration to Russia that the Western Allies were supporting the Russian drive through Silesia.

Dresden had never been bombed previously. The RAF and the Luftwaffe are said to have had a "gentleman's agreement," whereby the former would not bomb Dresden and Heidelberg, and the latter would spare Oxford and Cambridge, recognizing the priceless artistic and cultural monuments of these cities. The Luftwaffe scrupulously observed its part of the bargain. The RAF certainly did not bomb Heidelberg, but did play a minor part in the Dresden raids. Because of this agreement the holocaust was vastly increased. For the Germans had moved military hospitals to Dresden and had allowed that city to become a large refugee center.

As stories like these bring out the seamy side of warfare, it would seem that the American press should comment with more humility on the trials in which we are preparing to sentence Germans and Japanese for "crimes against humanity."

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Notes and Quotes

A letter from an American in Germany: "The new output of GI's is in their teens. Green, ignorant, inexperienced and unfortunately taught all the wrong things about Europe by our Special Services which concentrate on arranging night clubs for these boys with plenty of liquor and the type of program that one can see in the States only in burlesque. The reading matter is scantier than ever. The billets have no facilities for any quiet or even chairs or reading material for that matter. The officer group is leading a high life . . . formal parties, brass, private villas, etc. And yet we keep worrying about German youth. I keep thinking when I look at these kids, most of them here right out of their junior year in high school, that we also owe something to our own youth, and that with the whole wealth of cultural Europe before us, we keep giving them burlesque type of recreation . . .arousing but not satisfying sex. How many of these kids at home think of sex in these terms?"

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"The Empire of Russia will aspire to conquer Europe and will itself be conquered. The Tartars, its subjects or neighbors, will become its masters and ours by a revolution which I regard as inevitable. Indeed, all the Kings of Europe are working in concert to hasten its coming." J. J. Rousseau, Social Contract (1762), Book II, Chapter 8.

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America's rural weekly newspapers deserve more notice than they commonly receive. We offer the following quotation from the weekly Hastings [New York] News (August 22). It is part of a very consciously provocative column entitled "Hannibalistics" by "Hamilcar." The pseudonym is reportedly that of Roger Shaw, formerly Foreign Editor of The Review of Reviews. Hamilcar draws a comparison between the Nazis and New Dealers, severe but not without some justification:

"Both gangs retained the capitalists, large and small, and hitched them to the chariot of the State. They did not 'liquidate' the owners, as in Russia; they merely enslaved them. Stockbrokers and bondholders continued in both 'capitalist' countries, Germany and America, but they were a facade. Behind the facade was a colossal state-machine that cared nothing for profits, or the money-rights of the individual. What was left of German capitalism after the defeat, the New Deal commissars (backed by Mr. Morgenthau) sought to wipe out as they destroyed factories, confiscated savings and arrested financial magnates. It was a vicarious revenge.

"These New Dealers were treating the German rich as they had long wanted to treat the American rich. But the New Dealers also socked the German poor, which was unscientific."

Answering the objection that there was no New Deal "Terror" like the "Brown Terror" in Germany, Hamilcar goes on: "There were the conscientious objectors, the Witnesses of Jehovah, the American-born Japanese, the wire-tapping, the war of nerves waged against all anti-Roosevelt elements.

"As a college president remarked to the writer: 'The worst phases of the New Deal Terror are not to be found in America. They are to be found in the Clay-Eisenhower regime in Germany, where Roosevelt-Truman have given the terrorists and book-burners and war-criminologists a free hand.' The President then added the nickname of 'Robespierre' to our Nuremberg 'Justice' Mr. Jackson."

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Pot and Kettle Department ---- Elliott Roosevelt (see his current "FDR vs. Churchill" series in Look magazine) found Randolph Churchill, the Premier's son, an objectionable fellow.

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